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Papago society was completely democratic if we except the class division into old and young which made every one, in the course of his life, first an inferior, then a superior. Within an age group, all had equal rights and even the officials did not dictate. It was their aim to come to a decision which should have the complete emotional support of all and they were willing to take endless time in achieving this. The result was an extremely stable society, moving slowly and not subject to tyrannous changes.

Unity was not a difficult ideal, for all had the same surroundings and experiences, and all had been conditioned from childhood to the same code of behavior. It was this relentless conditioning which made organized government superfluous. People were already prepared for the necessary duties and, unless circumstances changed, would perform them almost automatically.

Unity being the ideal, no one was expected to take authority or to "make himself big". Common sense and industry were what gained respect and any attempt at prestige would arouse suspicion. A man who had been through the various purifications and thus achieved all that individual prowess could, was warned when he became a "ripe man": "Now you must always stay behind the others. When food is passed, you must be the last to take it." This was the accepted demeanor for the great.

The unity of the group was constantly emphasized in words. "We love our relatives. Our pleasure in life is to be with our relatives." The Papago, so restrained in most directions, seem, from the White point of view, over-expressive on this one point, but it is the emphasizing of a principle: a constant reminder of the proper group attitude.

The individual derives his sense of importance from his feeling of unity with the group. There need be no struggle for position for he has position which only the most outrageous conduct can forfeit. As there is no special honor for the officials, so there is no lack of respect for the humdrum group members. The frantic hunger for success which plagues a White society was entirely unknown to the old time Papago.

A good man in the Papago sense, was a useful member of the group. He must be peaceable and loyal. He must be industrious, so that others would not have to support him, and he must be generous with gifts. He must have common sense so that he would be an asset in the group councils but he should not have striking ideas which would make unity hard to achieve. He should be modest and, no matter how old and wise he was, wait to speak until he was asked. He should never quarrel or speak evil. His ambition

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885 should be to achieve the status of responsible patriarch, able to
●156 support and protect others. In addition, if he had had a vision which gave him power, it was desirable, for thus he could better help his family. But individual power was an idea extraneous to the main Papago scheme and never logically incorporated with it.

The good woman had much the same virtues as the good man for, in her household sphere, she also took council and responsibility. With her, there was little question of a vision and industry headed all the virtues. Her conduct in sex matters was not, by any means the distinguishing mark of her behavior for both she and the man had a fair amount of latitude. But she had a ceremonial duty never to injure men by her presence while menstruating. If she was careful in this respect and was industrious, she was always a good citizen.

The achievement of this ideal was perfectly possible for any average group member and the society was correspondingly contented. The unadjusted person was the ambitious individual, with startling ideas. He would always be listened to, — at least if he waited until he was old enough to speak in council — for the society suppressed no one. But he would suffer the stigma of being uncooperative, talking too much and being "big headed." Only the most urgent conviction could nerve a man to put himself thus outside the pale, or only the most robust ambition. One imagines that shamans must have had such an ambition for they alone took the risks and received the rewards of the business adventurer. In psychology, they came nearest to the normal individualists of a modern society. But the average group member was not likely to diverge. The emotional drive to unity was great, experience was limited and ideas hard to come by. If a man had one which differed from the ideas of the council and if he could maintain it until he was elderly and entitled to speak, it was valid indeed.

156 Group unity is now being rapidly broken up by the impact of White ideas, but it is still found among the older men, and one of the greatest misfortunes of the returned student is to find himself debarred from this unity and from the feeling of individual importance which it gave. He must now either convince his whole group of his new ideas, fighting against the stigma attached to putting himself forward, or he must achieve enough to be important in his own right. The second problem is the burden of White youth also, but the latter are not conditioned to shyness nor to an audience which rejects publicity methods.

When the individual had once submitted himself to the group pattern, he had no oppressive duties, other than the constant one

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of working hard enough to keep alive. Papago life does not involve the rigid obligations which burden many primitive societies, with their corelative fear of supernatural punishment for omissions. It may have been their very preoccupation with getting food which prevented the Desert People from evolving such a ceremonial framework. Their communal ceremonies are formulae meant to increase the food supply by singing of rain and plenty, but they are enjoyable in themselves and their chief activity is dancing and feasting. 156

However, they provide an outlet for other emotions than those required by the peaceable life. The Papago had a good deal of sex freedom but at certain feasts the rules were abrogated entirely; the monotony of toil and good behavior was lifted and the orgiastic in human temperament had its expression. Chief among these was the communal drinking feast, when it was the duty of men to saturate themselves like plants in the rain and the resulting madness was celebrated in song. On this occasion, men and women were absolved from marriage bonds and the light and "playful" woman was glorified. Two other occasions, the scalp dance and the girl's puberty dance permitted sexual license as they did through out almost all the West. The Papago culture contained strains not completely assimilable to peace and unity. 156 786

Other ceremonies supplied satisfaction to the restless individual. If he could be content to have his major expression in dreaming, there was the vision. Not the vision of the Plains, which could mean violent individualism, torture and keen ambition! The Papago, absorbing the wide-spread conception of the animal guardian and the song, had dimmed its outlines to as great a conformity as possible with their fundamental ideal. They fasted with the partly utilitarian object of growing used to hunger which was their frequent lot and, with the power achieved, to earn meals for the family. Such power, with many peoples who have a similar custom, expresses itself in a song, but with the Papago, the song was the important thing. The temperament to be cultivated was not so much that of the fighter and leader as of the singer and dreamer. All acts of prowess culminated only when the hero, fasting afterward, had dreamed a song and thus the achievements of the executive were made subordinate to those of the artist and creator. But a very moderate achievement in creation was sufficient and failure no detriment. 156 787

The points of stress for the average individual were few. As a child, whether or not he had parents, he had plenty of affection, no punishment and a gradual inculcation into responsibility as early 156

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156 as he could stand it. The daily discourses of his grandfather conditioned him, even before he could understand the words, to the same virtues required of adults: industry, peaceableness, modesly.

As an adult, he found little difficulty in coming up to the requirements of his society. Acquisitiveness and ambition need not burden him since all had about the same amount of property and prestige was discouraged. He could avoid the demands of war by becoming a shaman or a berdache. The feelings to be suppressed were: extreme ambition, desire for dominance, cruelty, curiosity. He might give a free rein to sex, (though there were a few restrictions for women) to play and to poetic imagination (phrased as the dreaming of songs.) Executives were not needed in a society which ran in such regular grooves, and it was the non-executives and artists who were at a premium.

Granted the form of understatement proper for Papago speech, he might indulge freely in various kinds of expression forbidden by modern society. He could say that he was afraid in battle and most warriors did say so. He could openly express grief and could weep in public. He could admit without shame that others were more intelligent than he. What he could not do was to show anger or stinginess, or jealousy, worst of all to admit that he did not love his relatives.

156 762 Almost everyone could live up to these conditions and few acknowledged failure by being driven to suicide or insanity. Two ancient cases of suicide were reported, both for typically Papago reasons: one, inability to bear opprobrium and one the fear of being a burden in old age.

158 732 No insanity is reported from former times except that of a shaman who "got too much power, ran around like a horse and died under a cactus." One case known now is being treated by the shaman with a crucifix. Several feeble minded and deformed children are to be seen at present though "we never had them before," and one wonders if the reason was that they were exposed in infancy.

156 191 195 The peaceable ideal was expressed in outward behavior by a constant, smiling calm. Much talking and loud laughter are, even now discouraged and a group of kin, reunited at a feast, take their pleasure by sitting together in smiling silence. When they do speak, it is in a low tone of voice made almost inaudible by the many whispered syllables of the language. Ceremonial speakers use the same tone and a shout is an anomaly even between cowboys in the open.

201 Facial expression varies between a good humored calm and a

000 specifically responsible for placing farm workers, and some Papagos already take advantage of its services. If necessary, the ASES might hire, or share with the Papago Council the salary of (as does the Arizona Livestock Sanitary Board in the case of a Livestock Inspector) a Papago to contact the Desert People on the reserves and channel them through the ASES offices in cotton growing areas.

Whether placement and policing were carried out by a Papago Labor Service independently, or through the ASES, this writer is quite sure that formalizing the employment of Papago farm laborers would kick back. Probably somewhat fewer of the Desert People could be placed satisfactorily by a Labor Service than find jobs for themselves.

There are a number of reasons for this prediction. [181] One is the individualism of the Desert People. They [156] prefer to make their own choices without interferance from outside authority--which a labor service would be. Papagos are trained from babyhood to decide for themselves. [858] "Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned."[1] In this type of society, a formal labor service would likely be ignored by most people. However, the Desert People at the same time have a great admiration for Anglo techniques, and a willingness to experiment with same--so they might try out a Labor Service. But it would have to prove immediately beneficial to them to attract repeaters.

46 This it might not do, because of the nature of the preference Anglo farmers express for Papago employees. One Marana cotton grower likes Papago pickers because they are "less quarrelsome" than other harvest hands. Another prefers them because they are "not trying to mess up. They are not crooked," meaning they don't weight their sacks with rocks and clods. A Pinal county grower hires Papagos because they "give no trouble."

That this ability of the Desert People to get along well with their employers is a prime factor in the preference shown for them is indicated by the fact that most of their employers think them slow pickers. Three-fourths

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[1] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 82.

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466 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture
177 and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

464 The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

464 Another quality in the Desert People that makes
466 them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subser-
●156 vience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind of action to arguments and recriminations from workers of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality.
[183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural for-
[867] ces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation, and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

464 Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in
466 finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat off-
[191] set by their relatively poor understanding and command
[273] of the English language, and the high incidence of drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanization will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.